A7575-1.1

N C C D

FOCUS

THE NATIONAL COUNCIL ON CRIME AND DELINQUENCY

JULY 1989

Ranking the Nation's Most Punitive and Costly States

By James Austin, Ph.D. and Marci Brown

HIGHLIGHTS

This issue of NCCD FOCUS represents the second annual "Ranking the Nation's Most Punitive States."[1] The United States, now with more than 625,000 inmates in prison, has long been recognized as a country that imprisons a large portion of its population. Since 1980, the nation's imprisonment rate has nearly doubled.[2] Presently, over 40 states are under some form of litigation related to crowding or unconstitutional conditions of confinement.

This surge in the number of inmates has been interpreted by some as an indication of a more punitive attitude toward the crime problem that characterizes the politics of contemporary criminal justice. Punitive attitudes have traditionally been cited as the reason certain states and regions have higher imprisonment rates than the nation as a whole.

As states respond to the pressure of overcrowding, more attention is being paid to comparing states in terms of their use of other forms of control in addition to prisons. And, states are also concerned with the high costs of these systems. State and federal prison population data, the most obvious means of calculating comparative imprisonment rates, reflect only a single component of a jurisdiction's correctional system and exclude other far-reaching forms of incarceration and control, including jails, juvenile facilities, and parole and probation.

For these reasons, the domain of prison control must be evaluated in relation to, and in many cases as overlapping with, the control exercised by other correctional control systems. This has become all the more obvious in recent years, as many states, facing crisis situations in their prisons, have placed many offenders in a wide variety of non-prison correctional settings.

The major findings of this report are:

- The nation's use of prisons, jails, probation and parole continues to grow at record levels. More than one out of every 100 persons are under the control of the criminal justice system.3
- Washington, D.C., ranks number one in all forms of punishment and criminal justice expenditures. Despite an enormous investment in criminal justice agencies, policy makers have recently chosen the nation's capitol as the site for further investment in more incarcerative policies.
- The South continues to have the highest regional imprisonment rate and the highest total control rate. However, the West, fueled by dramatic increases in California, has the highest regional total incarceration rate (including jails and juvenile facilities, as well as prisons).
- In 1987, it cost each man, woman, and child $211 per year to fund state and local criminal justice systems. This figure compares with $95 in 1979.
- There is a strong correlation between rates of criminal justice expenditures and crime rates. States that spend the most on criminal justice have the highest crime rates. Despite a continuing increase in expenditures for criminal justice agencies and in the use of formal punishment, crime rates continue to escalate.

IMPRISONMENT VS. TOTAL INCARCERATION RATES

The most commonly used gauge of the punitive nature of a state or geographic region is the imprisonment rate. This rate typically refers to the number of persons in prison on a given day, per 100,000 state population. Southern states have historically had the highest levels of imprisonment in the country, which has been interpreted by some experts as reflecting the conservative political and social values of that region.

Table 1 shows the rates of imprisonment for the 50 states and Washington, D.C. Among the 15 states with the highest rates of imprisonment, 11 were Southern states (including Washington, D.C.). The table also shows that the Southern region had the highest imprisonment rate followed by the West, Midwest and Northeast. Among the 15 states with the lowest rates of imprisonment, seven states were in the Northeast and six were in the Midwest.

Overall, state rankings for imprisonment varied little from last year's report, which used 1986 data. However, a few states showed significant increases or decreases in their imprisonment rate between 1986 and 1987. Interestingly, Washington, D.C., which has the highest imprisonment rate in the nation, increased its imprisonment rate from 1,078.4 in 1986 to 1,197.4 per 100,000 in 1987. Alaska is second with a rate of 481.5 per 100,000 and replaces

Table 1: Imprisonment vs. Incarceration Rates

Rank	State	1987 Population*	1987 Prisoners	Imprisonment Rate***
1	D.C.	622	7,448	1,197.4
2	Alaska	525	2,528	481.5
3	Delaware	644	2,931	455.1
4	Nevada	1,007	4,434	440.3
5	South Carolina	3,425	12,664	369.8
6	Louisiana	4,461	15,375	344.7
7	Arizona	3,386	10,948	323.3
8	Alabama	4,083	12,827	314.2
9	Georgia	6,222	18,575	298.5
10	Maryland	4,535	13,467	297.0
11	Oklahoma	3,272	9,639	294.6
12	Florida	12,023	32,445	269.9
13	North Carolina	6,413	17,249	269.0
14	Mississippi	2,625	6,831	260.2
15	Michigan	9,200	23,879	259.6
16	California	27,663	66,975	242.1
17	Kansas	2,476	5,881	237.5
18	Connecticut	3,211	7,511	233.9
19	Texas	16,789	38,821	231.2
20	New York	17,825	40,842	229.1
21	Arkansas	2,388	5,443	227.9
22	Virginia	5,904	13,321	225.6
23	Ohio	10,784	24,240	224.8
24	Missouri	5,103	11,357	222.6
25	Hawaii	1,083	2,268	209.4
26	Oregon	2,724	5,482	201.2
27	Indiana	5,531	10,827	195.8
28	Wyoming	490	940	191.8
29	New Jersey	7,672	13,662	178.1
30	New Mexico	1,500	2,648	176.5
31	Illinois	11,582	19,850	171.4
32	South Dakota	709	1,135	160.1
33	Tennessee	4,855	7,624	157.0
34	Idaho	998	1,482	148.5
35	Kentucky	3,727	5,471	146.8
36	Montana	809	1,187	146.7
37	Colorado	3,296	4,808	145.9
38	Rhode Island	986	1,429	144.9
39	Vermont	548	759	138.5
40	Pennsylvania	11,936	16,267	136.3
41	Washington	4,538	6,131	135.1
42	Nebraska	1,594	2,086	130.9
43	Wisconsin	4,807	6,001	124.8
44	Utah	1,680	1,888	112.4
45	Maine	1,187	1,328	111.9
46	Massachusetts	5,855	6,238	106.5
47	Iowa	2,834	2,863	101.0
48	New Hampshire	1,057	867	82.0
49	West Virginia	1,897	1,461	77.0
50	North Dakota	672	430	64.0
51	Minnesota	4,246	2,546	60.0
REGION				
SOUTH		83,885	221,592	264.2
WEST		49,699	111,719	224.8
MIDWEST		59,538	111,095	186.6
NORTHEAST		50,277	88,903	176.8
TOTALS		243,399	533,309	219.1

Rank	State	1987 Persons in Jail**	Jail Rate***	1987 Juveniles in Custody	Total Incarceration Rate****
1	D.C.	1,674	269.1	413	1,533.0
2	Nevada	1,925	191.1	482	679.3
3	Louisiana	10,300	230.8	1,028	598.6
4	Alaska	0 +	0 +	178	515.4
5	California	60,802	219.7	14,712	515.1
6	Arizona	5,137	151.7	1,019	505.1
7	South Carolina	3,675	107.2	715	497.9
8	Florida	24,602	204.6	2,311	493.7
9	Delaware	0 +	0 +	169	481.4
10	Georgia	9,504	152.7	1,338	472.8
11	Alabama	4,326	105.9	804	439.8
12	Maryland	4,985	109.9	1,032	429.6
13	Tennessee	10,514	216.5	1,038	395.0
14	Oklahoma	2,734	83.55	446	391.8
15	Texas	23,453	139.6	2,421	385.3
16	Virginia	7,738	131.0	1,456	381.4
17	New Jersey	13,107	170.8	1,997	374.9
18	New York	23,694	132.9	2,226	374.5
19	Michigan	8,547	92.90	1,816	372.2
20	North Carolina	5,380	83.89	812	365.5
21	Kansas	1,914	77.30	676	342.1
22	Ohio	8,729	80.94	3,126	334.7
23	Arkansas	1,982	82.99	249	321.4
24	Oregon	2,469	90.63	592	313.6
25	Mississippi	1,018	38.78	355	312.5
26	Indiana	4,710	85.15	1,320	304.8
27	New Mexico	1,428	95.2	491	304.5
28	Wyoming	377	76.93	173	304.1
29	Illinois	12,616	108.9	1,930	297.0
30	Missouri	2,854	55.92	815	294.5
31	Kentucky	4,696	125.9	607	289.1
32	Washington	5,281	116.3	1,134	276.5
33	Colorado	3,793	115.0	503	276.2
34	Wisconsin	5,750	119.6	686	258.7
35	Pennsylvania	13,195	110.5	1,103	256.1
36	Connecticut	0 +	0 +	227	241.0
37	South Dakota	294	41.46	228	233.7
38	Montana	412	50.92	228	225.8
39	Idaho	630	63.12	117	223.3
40	Hawaii	0 +	0 +	149	223.2
41	Nebraska	1,174	73.65	274	221.7
42	Iowa	2,736	96.54	427	212.6
43	Massachusetts	4,740	80.95	212	191.1
44	Utah	1,066	63.45	217	188.8
45	Maine	572	48.18	214	178.1
46	New Hampshire	807	76.34	126	170.3
47	Rhode Island	0 +	0 +	105	155.6
48	Minnesota	3,106	73.15	581	146.8
49	West Virginia	1,154	60.83	141	145.3
50	Vermont	0 +	0 +	15	141.2
51	North Dakota	245	36.45	69	110.7
REGION					
WEST		83,320	167.6	19,995	432.7
SOUTH		117,735	140.4	15,335	422.8
NORTHEAST		56,115	111.6	6,225	300.8
MIDWEST		52,675	88.5	11,948	295.1
TOTALS		309,845	127.3	53,503	368.4

* Total population in thousands.

** Average daily jail populations for 1987 are estimates drawn from published reports and phone calls to individual state officials.

*** Per 100,000 total population (1987), as reported in the 1987 UCR.

**** Number of persons in prison, jail, and juvenile facilities per 100,000 total population (1987).

\+ In the states of Alaska, Connecticut, Delaware, Hawaii, Rhode Island, and Vermont, which maintain combined prison and jail systems, all inmates are accounted for in the prison figures.

Nevada as the state with the highest imprisonment rate. However, Alaska's high ranking is misleading as its prison figures include persons awaiting trial or serving short sentences. In most other states these inmates are counted in jail populations.

To correct for this bias, we created a "total incarceration rate" which includes prison and jail populations and juveniles in custody.[4] When the states are ranked according to this criterion, the West replaces the South as the nation's leader with a rate of 432.7 per 100,000. Nevada reassumes its number one state ranking, and D.C. continues to have the highest rate of incarceration (four times the national average). California's dramatic increase in prison, jail and juvenile facility populations is the main reason the West has taken the lead in incarceration. Since the previous NCCD report, California added about 6,500 inmates to its prison population, more than 19,000 inmates to its jail population, and 2,100 children to its juvenile facilities.

When the total incarceration measure is compared to the imprisonment rate, significant changes occur among the states with respect to their national ranking. Tennessee, for example, moves from 33 to 13 in total incarceration, in part because the state houses many state prisoners in local jails due to a consent decree restricting prison populations. The same phenomenon also explains increases in rankings for other states including New Jersey, Texas, and Louisiana.

Connecticut, on the other hand, moves down to a rank of 36 for total incarceration compared to a rank of 18 for imprisonment. Similar declines for other states, such as Hawaii, Rhode Island and Vermont, simply reflect that they also have consolidated jail and prison systems.

TOTAL CRIMINAL JUSTICE CONTROL RATES

In order to examine the true extent of people under control of the criminal justice system, adults on probation and parole must be accounted for in addition to those who are in prison, jail and juvenile facilities (Table 2).[5] Using this measure, Texas and North Dakota are on either end of the total control rate spectrum — Texas with a rate of 2,512 and North Dakota with a rate of 374 per 100,000 people under control of the criminal justice system. Once again, D.C. far exceeds the national average with an extraordinary rate of 3,885. Put differently, this statistic means that nearly four out of every 100 persons in the District of Columbia are under the control of the criminal justice system.[6]

The average total control rate for the top 10 states in 1987 is 2,194 per 100,000, up from the 1985 rate of 1,794. In these states, over two out of every 100 adults is under some form of criminal justice control. The average total control rate for the lowest 10 states in 1987 is 587 per 100,000, compared to last year's report, when it was 550 per 100,000.

Total control rates provide a different ranking of the 50 states and Washington, D.C., compared to imprisonment and total incarceration rankings. Only three of the states ranking in the top 10 for total control were also in the top ten for imprisonment and incarceration rates. Conversely, several states that ranked among the top 10 in terms of total control ranked much lower in terms of their imprisonment rates. Massachusetts, Washington and Connecticut rank 46, 41 and 18 respectively in imprisonment rates. But, because these states rely heavily on probation and parole, they ranked 6, 7 and 10 respectively in total control. And, Minnesota, which ranks 51 in imprisonment, goes up to 21 in total control.

RELATIONSHIPS TO REPORTED CRIMES AND ARRESTS

As stated in last year's report, one might assume that there is a relationship between the rates of total control and the amount of crime experienced within individual states. One can show this with the following ratio: the number of people counted in the numerator of the total control rate, divided by the annual number of index crimes reported to the

Table 2: Total Control Rate

Rank	State	1987 Adults on Probation	Adult Probation Rate*	1987 Adults on Parole	Adult Parole Rate*	Total Control Rate**
1	D.C.	10,797	2,222	3,834	789.0	3,885.2
2	Texas	289,690	2,454	67,308	570.2	2,511.7
3	Georgia	110,484	2,463	10,917	243.4	2,423.9
4	Maryland	72,816	2,135	8,063	236.4	2,213.1
5	Delaware	9,288	1,927	1,113	230.9	2,096.4
6	Massachusetts	98,061	2,170	4,018	88.9	1,934.6
7	Washington	58,421	1,734	10,446	310.0	1,794.0
8	Florida	153,210	1,644	2,873	30.8	1,791.9
9	Michigan	113,996	1,691	6,365	94.4	1,680.5
10	Connecticut	43,659	1,779	466	19.0	1,615.2
11	California	239,851	1,178	41,335	203.0	1,531.6
12	Louisiana	30,313	964	7,243	230.3	1,440.5
13	North Carolina	62,940	1,315	4,646	97.1	1,419.4
14	Indiana	56,978	1,403	3,071	75.6	1,390.5
15	Nevada	5,338	707	1,598	211.6	1,368.1
16	New Jersey	55,787	955	15,709	268.9	1,306.9
17	Pennsylvania	85,084	937	38,398	422.9	1,290.6
18	South Carolina	23,608	950	3,219	129.5	1,281.2
19	Arizona	22,598	916	2,224	90.1	1,238.2
20	Oregon	22,971	1,127	2,116	103.8	1,234.6
21	Minnesota	44,363	1,415	1,444	46.1	1,225.6
22	Missouri	41,068	1,082	6,358	167.5	1,223.8
23	Vermont	5,593	1,371	200	49.0	1,198.4
24	Kansas	18,189	997	2,676	146.7	1,184.8
25	New York	113,153	840	31,244	231.9	1,184.6
26	Oklahoma	23,553	990	1,762	74.1	1,165.5
27	Hawaii	8,832	1,114	1,012	126.9	1,136.7
28	Tennessee	26,403	733	9,263	257.2	1,129.6
29	Illinois	82,332	963	13,566	158.7	1,125.0
30	Alaska	2,941	831	135	38.1	1,101.3
31	Alabama	23,406	789	3,418	115.2	1,096.8
32	Ohio	71,492	900	5,988	75.4	1,053.2
33	Arkansas	13,475	774	3,932	225.9	1,050.3
34	Rhode Island	8,181	1,081	423	55.9	1,028.2
35	Nebraska	11,511	983	459	39.2	972.6
36	Wisconsin	26,172	740	3,993	112.9	886.2
37	Virginia	17,945	404	6,284	141.5	791.7
38	Colorado	14,456	597	1,680	69.4	765.8
39	Wyoming	1,841	538	358	104.6	752.9
40	Iowa	12,745	606	1,966	93.5	731.7
41	Idaho	4,146	598	641	92.5	703.0
42	Mississippi	6,752	368	3,456	188.4	701.4
43	Montana	3,168	542	624	106.8	694.6
44	South Dakota	2,594	506	469	91.5	665.7
45	New Mexico	4,010	381	1,194	113.4	651.4
46	New Hampshire	4,150	525	640	81.0	623.5
47	Utah	5,833	555	1,137	108.2	603.6
48	Kentucky	7,181	263	3,338	122.3	571.3
49	Maine	4,605	521	0 ***	0 ***	566.0
50	West Virginia	4,421	314	841	59.7	422.7
51	North Dakota	1,616	333	151	31.1	373.7
REGION						
SOUTH		886,282	1,441	141,510	230.1	1,648.0
WEST		394,456	1,087	64,500	177.7	1,356.1
NORTHEAST		418,273	1,095	91,098	238.5	1,313.9
MIDWEST		483,056	1,101	46,506	106.0	1,184.6
TOTALS		2,182,067	1,247	343,614	196.4	1,406.1

* Per 100,000 adult population.
** Per 100,000 total population. Total Control Rate includes all persons in prison and jail, juveniles in custody, and adults on probation and parole.
*** Maine eliminated parole in 1976.

Table 3: Total Control/Crime Ratio

Rank	State	Total Index Crimes	Crime Rate*	Total Control Rate*	Total Control/ Crime Ratio
1	D.C.	52,569	8,451.6	3,885.2	0.460
2	Delaware	31,806	4,938.8	2,096.4	0.424
3	Georgia	360,379	5,792.0	2,423.9	0.418
4	Massachusetts	277,165	4,733.8	1,934.6	0.409
5	Pennsylvania	377,563	3,163.2	1,290.6	0.408
6	Maryland	248,409	5,477.6	2,213.1	0.404
7	Indiana	227,864	4,119.8	1,390.5	0.338
8	Texas	1,296,519	7,722.4	2,511.7	0.325
9	Connecticut	160,413	4,995.7	1,615.2	0.323
10	North Carolina	298,196	4,649.9	1,419.4	0.305
11	Vermont	23,406	4,271.2	1,198.4	0.281
12	Minnesota	195,986	4,615.8	1,225.6	0.266
13	Michigan	594,026	6,456.8	1,680.5	0.260
14	Missouri	240,222	4,707.5	1,223.8	0.260
15	Washington	318,436	7,017.1	1,794.0	0.256
16	South Dakota	18,987	2,678.0	665.7	0.249
17	New Jersey	403,662	5,261.5	1,306.9	0.248
18	South Carolina	176,794	5,161.9	1,281.2	0.248
19	Arkansas	101,376	4,245.2	1,050.3	0.247
20	Alabama	181,751	4,451.4	1,096.8	0.246
21	Louisiana	262,006	5,873.3	1,440.5	0.245
22	Tennessee	226,516	4,665.6	1,129.6	0.242
23	Kansas	121,420	4,903.9	1,184.8	0.242
24	Nebraska	65,857	4,131.6	972.6	0.235
25	California	1,799,871	6,506.4	1,531.6	0.235
26	Ohio	493,400	4,575.3	1,053.2	0.230
27	Nevada	64,160	6,371.4	1,368.1	0.215
28	Wisconsin	200,425	4,169.4	886.2	0.213
29	Florida	1,022,335	8,503.2	1,791.9	0.211
30	Illinois	627,342	5,416.5	1,125.0	0.208
31	Alaska	28,232	5,377.5	1,101.3	0.205
32	Mississippi	90,263	3,438.6	701.4	0.204
33	Virginia	233,768	3,959.5	791.7	0.200
34	New York	1,061,021	5,952.4	1,184.6	0.199
35	Hawaii	63,008	5,817.9	1,136.7	0.195
36	Rhode Island	52,115	5,285.5	1,028.2	0.195
37	Oklahoma	197,159	6,025.6	1,165.5	0.193
38	West Virginia	41,558	2,190.7	422.7	0.193
39	Wyoming	19,753	4,031.2	752.9	0.187
40	New Hampshire	35,639	3,371.7	623.5	0.185
41	Oregon	189,835	6,969.0	1,234.6	0.177
42	Iowa	117,334	4,140.2	731.7	0.177
43	Kentucky	121,873	3,270.0	571.3	0.175
44	Arizona	243,405	7,188.6	1,238.2	0.172
45	Idaho	41,480	4,156.3	703.0	0.169
46	Maine	41,928	3,532.3	566.0	0.160
47	Montana	37,209	4,599.4	694.6	0.151
48	North Dakota	19,038	2,833.0	373.7	0.132
49	Colorado	212,634	6,451.3	765.8	0.119
50	Utah	94,393	5,618.6	603.6	0.107
51	New Mexico	98,202	6,546.8	651.4	0.099
REGION					
SOUTH		4,943,277	5,892.9	1,648.0	0.280
NORTHEAST		2,432,912	4,839.0	1,313.9	0.272
MIDWEST		2,921,901	4,907.6	1,184.6	0.241
WEST		3,210,618	6,460.1	1,356.1	0.210
TOTALS		13,508,708	5,550.0	1,406.1	0.253

*** Per 100,000 total population.**

Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI). The ratio shows the total number of people under control in relation to the number of reported crimes, rather than the number of people in the population. Such a ratio attempts to control for variations in crime rates and arrest practices.

The data presented in Table 3 represent crime data from the FBI's 1987 Uniform Crime Report (UCR). It should be noted that the absence of standardization for time periods causes some level of unknown error as the number of agencies reporting to UCR vary from year to year.

If the level of crime explains why states vary in their use of incarceration, probation and parole, one would expect to see little variation across the states in total control/crime ratios. States with relatively high rates of crime should have correspondingly high total control rates; states with low rates of control should have correspondingly low total control rates. But, in both cases, the total control/crime ratios would be similar. However, as shown in Table 3, variations among the states continue.

Washington, D.C., again has the highest total control/crime ratio which is nearly five times greater than the lowest ratio, New Mexico (.460 vs. .099). In other words, for every 100 index crimes reported to police in Washington, D.C., there were 46 people under some form of criminal justice control; while in New Mexico, there were only nine people under control for every 100 reported index crimes. When Washington, D.C., is excluded, the highest ranking state is Delaware, which still has a ratio over four times greater than New Mexico. The South retains the top ranking among the regions in total control/crime ratio. Significantly, the West now has the lowest ratio, which reflects its higher rates of reported crime compared to the other regions.

These data indicate differences among the states in their rates of total control are only partially related to the differences in their crime rates. Policies within the criminal justice systems in these states are responsible for the relative numbers of people who are under formal supervision and control.

The final analysis shown in Table 4 uses a ratio of people imprisoned to index arrests and a ratio of total control to index arrests. In some ways, the imprisonment to arrest ratio is a superior measure of punitiveness in that it reflects the use of the most punitive sanction, given the number of arrests made in that state for serious crimes. Table 4 shows that there is a continuation of the extreme level of variation among the states as well as a re-ordering of the state rankings. Most significantly, Western states in general, and California in particular, rank much lower in this analysis.

Since jurisdictions may vary considerably in the number of crimes cleared by arrest, one might expect a closer relationship to exist between arrest rates and the number of people under formal control within a state.

Again, a narrow range of ratios would have indicated a fairly strong relationship between the arrest rate and the total control rate. The data, however, show a very broad range, from a relatively low ratio of .713 in Montana to 6.189 in Massachusetts (this high ratio for Massachusetts can be attributed to the inclusion of the administrative probation caseload as noted in footnote 6). Thus, in Massachusetts, there were 6.2 people under correctional control for every index arrest that occurred in the state. By contrast, in Montana, there were 0.7 people in the "controlled population" for every index arrest.

EXPENDITURES FOR CRIMINAL JUSTICE ACTIVITIES

This final section introduces an additional source of information available from the U.S. Census Bureau: the per capita expenditures of state and local governments for justice activities including police protection, judicial/legal services, and corrections (Table 5).

According to these data, the nation spent a total of $51.4 billion in 1987, or approximately $211 per woman, man, and child for its state and local criminal justice agencies. Not included here are the costs for private security systems ($21.7 billion in 1980) or the costs of federal criminal justice agencies ($5.7 billion in 1985).[7]

Significantly, the amount of direct losses to households, banks and commercial businesses is approximately

Table 4: Prisoner/Arrest and Total Control/Arrest Ratios

Rank	State	1987 Adult Arrests*	Prisoner/ Arrest Ratio	Rank	State	Total Control/ Arrest Ratio**
1	D.C.	8,272	0.900	1	Massachusetts	6.189
2	Mississippi	8,150	0.838	2	Indiana	5.203
3	Indiana	14,527	0.745	3	Georgia	4.944
4	Delaware	4,009	0.731	4	Vermont	4.012
5	South Dakota	1,596	0.711	5	Maryland	3.517
6	South Carolina	18,489	0.685	6	Delaware	3.326
7	Ohio	36,497	0.664	7	Pennsylvania	3.158
8	Alabama	19,716	0.651	8	Tennessee	3.140
9	Georgia	30,235	0.614	9	Texas	3.036
10	Louisiana	26,631	0.582	10	Ohio	3.026
11	Oklahoma	17,270	0.558	11	Washington	2.879
12	Nevada	9,161	0.484	12	D.C.	2.871
13	Maryland	28,244	0.477	13	Michigan	2.856
14	Vermont	1,633	0.465	14	South Dakota	2.815
15	Kansas	12,983	0.453	15	Louisiana	2.592
16	Michigan	53,492	0.446	16	South Carolina	2.335
17	Tennessee	17,134	0.445	17	Minnesota	2.307
18	Wyoming	2,193	0.429	18	Alabama	2.231
19	Missouri	29,715	0.382	19	Mississippi	2.216
20	Arkansas	14,335	0.380	20	Kansas	2.208
21	Alaska	6,743	0.375	21	Oklahoma	2.182
22	Virginia	37,206	0.358	22	Missouri	2.074
23	North Carolina	48,777	0.354	23	New Hampshire	2.066
24	Massachusetts	18,268 ***	0.341	24	New Jersey	2.044
25	Pennsylvania	48,628	0.336	25	Nebraska	1.932
26	Hawaii	6,763	0.335	26	North Carolina	1.850
27	Kentucky	16,811	0.325	27	Rhode Island	1.812
28	Idaho	4,652	0.319	28	Hawaii	1.798
29	Arizona	37,365	0.293	29	Illinois	1.742
30	New Jersey	48,065	0.284	30	Arkansas	1.732
31	New Mexico	9,349	0.283	31	Connecticut	1.711
32	Texas	138,086	0.281	32	Florida	1.682
33	New York	146,861	0.278	33	Wyoming	1.603
34	New Hampshire	3,129	0.277	34	Idaho	1.483
35	Illinois	73,700	0.269	35	Oregon	1.468
36	Nebraska	7,885	0.265	36	Nevada	1.451
37	Rhode Island	5,597	0.258	37	New York	1.423
38	Florida	126,680	0.256	38	Iowa	1.417
39	Connecticut	30,174	0.249	39	California	1.416
40	Maine	5,369	0.247	40	Wisconsin	1.328
41	Oregon	22,512	0.244	41	Kentucky	1.231
42	California	288,822	0.232	42	Virginia	1.217
43	Washington	27,889	0.220	43	Maine	1.212
44	Iowa	14,333	0.200	44	Arizona	1.095
45	Wisconsin	31,553	0.190	45	North Dakota	1.034
46	West Virginia	7,741	0.189	46	West Virginia	1.018
47	North Dakota	2,361	0.182	47	New Mexico	0.993
48	Utah	10,692	0.178	48	Utah	0.933
49	Colorado	29,467	0.163	49	Colorado	0.839
50	Montana	7,563	0.157	50	Alaska	0.831
51	Minnesota	22,503	0.114	51	Montana	0.713
REGION				REGION		
SOUTH		567,384	0.390	SOUTH		2.409
MIDWEST		300,947	0.389	MIDWEST		2.304
NORTHEAST		307,464	0.289	NORTHEAST		2.128
WEST		463,111	0.241	WEST		1.412
TOTALS		1,639,106	0.323	TOTALS		2.055

* Includes index crime arrests.

** Juvenile arrests and juveniles in custody, which have been included in determining the Total Control Rate in Tables 2 and 3, are excluded from the Total Control/Arrest Ratio in Table 4. (Our 1988 report included the juvenile figures in determining the Total Control/Arrest Ratio.)

*** The Massachusetts adult arrests figure is that of 1986, as an accurate figure for 1987 is not available at this time.

Table 5: Per Capita Expenditures of State & Local Governments for Justice Activities

Rank	State	1987 Police Protection*	1987 Judicial-Legal**	1987 Corrections***	1987 Total Expenditures
1	D.C.	$372.56	$142.55	$383.10	$898.21
2	Alaska	211.45	151.22	173.56	536.23
3	New York	158.22	65.15	119.59	342.96
4	Nevada	134.88	67.30	119.74	321.92
5	California	144.91	60.06	108.67	313.64
6	Arizona	128.43	54.95	99.20	282.58
7	Maryland	113.20	44.59	98.36	256.15
8	New Jersey	124.63	53.12	72.75	250.50
9	Hawaii	101.63	69.24	78.54	249.41
10	Florida	123.59	46.52	74.41	244.52
11	Delaware	100.27	57.53	75.38	233.18
12	Michigan	106.25	47.80	77.34	231.39
13	Wyoming	123.11	50.50	56.31	229.92
14	Colorado	117.01	45.27	59.32	221.60
15	Massachusetts	106.04	47.13	59.35	212.52
16	New Mexico	95.26	39.69	69.62	204.57
17	Connecticut	106.18	42.69	49.65	198.52
18	Illinois	110.96	34.12	47.87	192.95
19	Washington	88.81	36.34	67.79	192.94
20	Oregon	95.02	41.59	54.22	190.83
21	Virginia	85.60	34.90	68.23	188.73
22	Ohio	87.04	37.47	63.38	187.89
23	Wisconsin	102.93	36.82	44.77	184.54
24	Rhode Island	95.62	41.83	44.53	181.98
25	Louisiana	93.61	34.98	51.05	179.64
26	Utah	82.25	31.12	60.08	173.45
27	Minnesota	83.29	40.00	47.38	170.67
28	Georgia	75.37	28.58	64.20	168.15
29	Texas	82.12	29.59	49.59	161.30
30	Pennsylvania	74.93	38.66	47.62	161.21
31	North Carolina	72.37	24.32	63.50	160.19
32	Missouri	81.14	27.50	46.63	155.27
33	New Hampshire	78.44	37.76	35.25	151.45
34	South Carolina	63.20	20.93	64.54	148.67
35	Kansas	73.87	33.99	40.30	148.16
36	Montana	69.58	37.48	37.20	144.26
37	Iowa	69.48	33.70	36.66	139.84
38	Tennessee	63.93	24.65	51.03	139.61
39	Alabama	64.05	29.56	40.92	134.53
40	Oklahoma	66.18	23.90	43.88	133.96
41	Idaho	71.72	27.96	32.30	131.98
42	Nebraska	65.96	27.74	38.04	131.74
43	Kentucky	59.15	30.33	40.07	129.55
44	Vermont	61.67	33.55	34.16	129.38
45	Maine	62.09	25.76	41.07	128.92
46	South Dakota	62.21	25.59	35.60	123.40
47	Indiana	57.69	23.49	39.19	120.37
48	North Dakota	53.29	33.47	23.51	110.27
49	Mississippi	54.16	17.78	29.33	101.27
50	Arkansas	51.28	18.35	29.22	98.85
51	West Virginia	43.12	24.20	21.20	88.52
REGION					
WEST		$127.11	$54.16	$92.25	$273.53
NORTHEAST		117.69	51.18	77.84	246.72
MIDWEST		89.82	35.62	52.50	177.94
SOUTH		84.66	32.42	59.76	176.85
TOTALS		$101.42	$41.52	$68.36	$211.29

All figures courtesy of U.S. Census Bureau.

* Police Protection: Preservation of law and order and traffic safety. Includes police patrols and communications, crime prevention activities, detention and custody of persons awaiting trial, traffic safety, and vehicular inspection.

** Judicial-Legal: Courts and activities associated with courts including law libraries, prosecutorial and defendant programs, probate functions, and juries.

*** Corrections: Confinement and correction of adults and minors convicted of offenses against the law, and pardon, probation, and parole activities.

$10 billion per year (see Exhibit A). In other words, for every dollar directly lost by the victims of crimes, we spend approximately five dollars to apprehend and punish offenders. If one factors in the costs of private security systems, the ratio of expenditures to victim losses is seven to one.

Once again, Washington, D.C., is the nation's leader, spending about $900 per capita for justice activities compared to the lowest ranking state, West Virginia, which only spends about $90 per person. The Western states have the most expensive justice systems to operate while the South and Midwest regions are much more moderate in their expenditures. These regional differences are consistent in the categories of police, judicial, and correctional system expenditures. The most expensive component of the justice system are police services which comprise nearly 50 percent of all government expenditures.

SUMMARY AND IMPLICATIONS

Several important findings emerge from this analysis. First, in many states and regions of the country, very large numbers of people are under some form of correctional supervision and control, much larger than the simple number of people in prison would indicate. In some states, between two and three percent of the population is under some form of criminal justice control and those numbers are rising.

Secondly, the extent to which control is exercised varies considerably among the states, as does the form that control takes. These differences clearly reflect variances in how state officials allocate public resources and adopt unique sentencing and correctional policies even when arrest and crime levels are controlled for.

Commonly-held views of the level of punishment in different states based on rates of imprisonment will change significantly when different measures of social control and punishment are used and if crime rates are included in the analysis. Measurement problems associated with UCR suggest caution be used in making state comparisons based on these crime data. Nevertheless, these measures certainly raise the possibility that jurisdictions traditionally thought of as "conservative" or "liberal" in their use of imprisonment may be

misclassified. Alternatively, unadjusted per capita rates, which do not take into account differences in crime levels and arrests, reflect the extent of control and imprisonment occurring in each state. That by itself is the most telling measure of how each state chooses to use its limited public resources to control crime and punish offenders.

Finally, one should be concerned with these contemporary trends of increasing use of and expenditures for criminal justice services. The nation's population is increasingly being placed under the control of these agencies in our frantic efforts to control crime. Yet the crime rate is again on the rise.

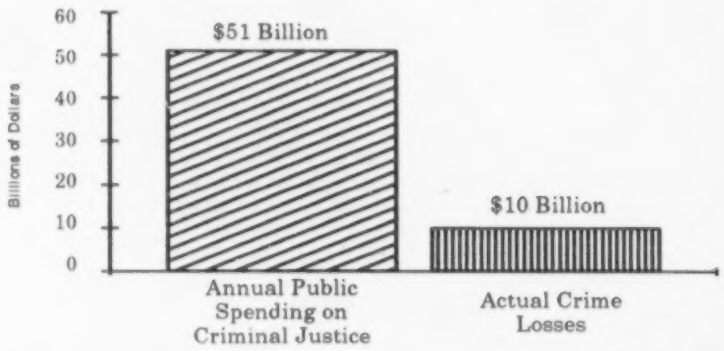
Given the current national debate on how best to combat crime, a simple analysis was made to determine the relationship between criminal justice expenditures and crime rates. The results showed a very strong correlation between a state's rate of expenditures and reported crimes. States that spend the most on law enforcement, the courts, prisons, jails, probation and parole also have the highest levels of reported crimes.

Ten years ago, the per capita expenditures were $95. When controlled for inflation, that figure increases to $157 in 1987 dollars, or a 34 percent increase. During that same period, the nation's crime rate increased by nearly 10 percent.

This is not to say that spending more money on these systems of formal control causes crime to increase. But certainly the strong possiblity is raised that simply throwing more money at the problem will not solve a state's crime problem.

If our objective as a nation is to lower crime rates and produce safer communities, these data argue for a re-examination of a strategy which relies largely on an increasingly expensive and expansive system of punishment and control.

Exhibit A: Criminal Justice Spending



FOOTNOTES

1 This is the second year NCCD has produced "Ranking the Nation's Most Punitive States." In this issue, we've attempted to refine the consistency of the data by using 1987 figures in all cases where available. However, some variance is unavoidable since federal reporting systems are not always reported on an annual basis or in a timely fashion. For example, the jail data used in our report last year was from the 1983 Bureau of Justice Statistics Jail Census. Rather than use dated figures, NCCD researched updated 1987 figures through published reports and phone calls to individual states.

2 U.S. Department of Justice, Bureau of Justice Statistics, "Prisoners in 1988," April 1989.

3 Even these populations, unfortunately, exclude three other relevant populations: juveniles imprisoned in private facilities, placed on probation or on parole. And, they may also ignore the estimated 13,000 police lock-up cells used for 48-hour detention which are not fully accounted for in the national jail census.

4 The total control rate reported here under counts the number of people under the supervision of criminal justice agencies because it excludes juveniles on probation for which national data are not available.

5 It is important to note that Massachusetts changed its reporting practices in 1986 for probationers, which partially explains its number six rating. Massachusetts now includes in its report more than 60,000 people who make up the administrative supervision caseload of the probation department.

6 U.S. Department of Justice, Bureau of Justice Statistics, Report to the Nation on Crime and Justice, 2nd ed. (Washington D.C.: U.S. Dept. of Justice, 1988), p. 114.

7 The zero order correlation between rate of crime and expenditures is .558. When extreme outlying jurisdictions (D.C. and Alaska) are excluded, the coefficient increases to .628. As expected, there are also similar coefficients for the relationships of imprisonment, incarceration, and total control with crime rates.

SOURCES

Table 1: 1987 Population: Crime in the United States, 1987 (Washington, D.C.: FBI, 1988), pp. 44-50.

1987 Prisoners: Bulletin, "Prisoners in 1987" (Washington, D.C.: Bureau of Justice Statistics, 1988), p. 2.

1987 Juveniles in Custody: Bulletin, "Children in Custody" (Washington, D.C.: Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, 1988), p. 6.

1987 Persons in Jail: published reports and phone interviews.

Table 2: 1987 Adults on Probation: Bulletin, "Probation and Parole 1987" (Washington, D.C.: Bureau of Justice Statistics, 1988), p. 2.

1987 Adults on Parole: Same, p. 3.

Table 3: Total Index Crimes: Crime in the United States, 1987 (Washington, D.C.: FBI, 1988), pp. 44-50.

Table 4: 1987 Adult Arrests: Crime in the United States, 1987 (Washington, D.C.: FBI, 1988), pp. 221-224. (Adult Arrests figure was derived by subtracting "Under 18 Arrests" from "Total All Ages.")

Table 5: Data courtesy of U.S. Census Bureau.

ABOUT THE AUTHORS

James Austin is Executive Vice President of NCCD. Marci Brown is NCCD's Director of Communications. Both work at NCCD's headquarters in San Francisco.

NATIONAL COUNCIL ON CRIME AND DELINQUENCY

Headquarters Office
77 Maiden Lane, 4th Floor
San Francisco, California 94108
(415) 956-5651

Midwest Office
6409 Odana Road
Madison, Wisconsin 53719
(608) 274-8882

The data used in this report is available in WordPerfect, Lotus 1-2-3, and ASCII text formats on a 5-1/4 inch diskette for use with IBM PC-compatible computers. All three formats are included on one diskette. Please send a check for $50 to:

NCCD
"Punitive States 1987 Diskette"
77 Maiden Lane, 4th Floor
San Francisco, CA 94108

Make checks payable to "NCCD". To order by telephone, call (415)956-5651.

© Copyright 1989 • National Council on Crime and Delinquency • All rights reserved

This publication is supported by a generous grant from the Edna McConnell Clark Foundation.

Members of the news media are encouraged to reproduce any charts contained in this publication with proper credit to NCCD. For further information about this or other NCCD publications, please contact Marci Brown, Director of Communications, at (415) 956-5651.

NCCD

NATIONAL COUNCIL ON CRIME AND DELINQUENCY
77 Maiden Lane, Fourth Floor
San Francisco, California 94108

NON PROFIT ORG.
U.S. POSTAGE
PAID
SAN FRANCISCO, CA
PERMIT NO. 12793